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THE AFRO-ASIAN PEOPLES
SOLIDARITY ORGANIZATION
FROM APRIL 1960 – APRIL 1961

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15 June 1961

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Note: The names in this paper follow the spelling used by the Afro-Asian organization and may vary from the correct spelling.

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I. Introduction and Conclusions

1. This paper describes the activities and developments of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization from April 1960 to April 1961. From those activities and developments it is possible to draw the following conclusions.

a. The AAPSO has moved far towards becoming a conventional international Communist front, as the following evidence shows. The Communist element has gained control of the organization at the expense of the UAR. The policy-making and administration procedures have been tightened to prevent individual control and influence. The AAPSO is now emphasizing political agitation at the national level in support of Soviet bloc policies on the international issues of anti-imperialism and anti-colonialism.

b. The capacity of the AAPSO as a pro-Communist and an anti-Western instrument has increased greatly since mid-1960, and its use has been sharply increased.

c. The AAPSO activities in Africa and its propaganda policies on African questions are being coordinated with those of the All African Peoples Conference through individuals holding official positions in both organizations and through consultations, on a regular basis, between the two permanent organizations. These regular consultations, proposed by the Soviet AAPSO delegation at Bandung, provide a channel for exerting Sino-Soviet bloc influence within the AAPC, from which organization the Sino-Soviet bloc is necessarily excluded.

d. The proposed enlarging of the AAPSO field of operations to encompass Latin America may, if successfully carried through, result in the AAPSO's changing into a world-wide anti-imperialist, anti-colonial front organization of the international Communist movement, in which the peace struggle in the underdeveloped world can be centered.

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II. Background

2. The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization, initially an offshoot of the Communist World Peace Movement, held its first meeting in Cairo in December 1957 and was then ostensibly dedicated to coordinating the efforts of African and Asian peoples for cultural and economic development and for the struggle against colonialism. In its early stages the AAPSO activities were disrupted by conflicts between Communist and anti-Communist members and also by conflicts among the Communists themselves. These conflicts were exacerbated by Nasser's anti-Communist campaign of early 1959 and by the Sino-Indian border dispute in late 1959. Accordingly the work of the AAPSO was slowed down and until mid-1960 the effectiveness of the organization was seriously in doubt. At this time the atmosphere changed abruptly and, with strong Communist support, the AAPSO started to move forward with new strength.

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3. Structure of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization
(in April 1961).

AAPSO, meets biennially

Composition: 1. National Solidarity Committees
(33 exist)
2. Other affiliated national organizations
(estimated at 50 plus)

AAPSO Council, meets annually

Composition: 1 member from each national member
organization

AAPSO Executive Committee, meets semi-annually*

Composition: 27 members from specific countries
designated by the council

Fund Committee, meets
4 times a year

Composition: 7 executive
committee members from
specific countries designated
by executive committee

(Financial) Control Committee,
meets semi-annually

Composition: 3 executive
committee members from
specific countries designated
by executive committee

AAPSO Permanent Secretariat*
(in permanent session)

Secretary general and 11 national secre-
taries selected by national committees
from specific countries designated by
executive committee
(47 employees)

Women's Section:
members representing
Algeria, Indonesia,
UAR, Japan, North
Vietnam, Guinea

* For membership see Appendix.

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4. The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization (AAPSO) has become increasingly active since the calling of the executive committee meeting in Beirut in November 1960. Differences among the three leading factions on the secretariat, i.e., Soviets, Chinese, and UAR representatives, have been soft-pedalled and the three groups are working in apparent harmony, although with increasing dominance of the Communists, in support of radical liberation movements and against neo-colonialism in the newly independent nations.

5. This renewed vigor has manifested itself in an enlarged permanent secretariat, increasing financial support of the secretariat, resumption of publication activity after a lapse of about six months, and the adoption of a full program of projected meetings and propaganda releases. These efforts are being strongly supported by the work of the Soviet, Chinese, Japanese, and, Indian national solidarity committees.

III. Major International Events

A. The Conakry Conference

6. The lowest ebb of the organization since its founding in December 1957 was reached just before the Conakry conference of April 1960. Members of the permanent secretariat were in repeated conflict: the Indian secretary Malaviya, till then the sparkplug of the Secretariat, had made several gestures of resignation; the Chinese were both blocking decisions and strengthening their hand in the secretariat (while the Chinese secretary had absented himself from Cairo for long periods of time, the first Japanese secretary arrived in Cairo with Chinese aid in late March); and complaints from the Communist element concerning the UAR secretary general and the political climate of Cairo were frequent. Preparations for the Conakry conference were made amidst much wrangling. Indeed, for a time it was uncertain whether a meeting would take place at all and even whether the organization in its present form would

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continue. The conference finally convened on 11 April 1960, owing probably to the reluctance of any one faction to take the onus of breaking it up.

7. The results of the conference underlined the areas of compatibility and the areas of conflict. All the delegates easily agreed on a spate of anti-imperialist, anti-western resolutions including promises of specific support for individual liberation movements. The validity of the original constitution of the organization was reaffirmed but difficulties arose in dealing with other organizational problems, the major bone of contention being the composition and location of the permanent secretariat. Designations of countries to be represented on the permanent secretariat caused dissension but a decision was finally reached with the choice of the following: UAR, (the secretary general), Algeria, Cameroons, China, Congo (Belgian) Guinea, India, Indonesia, Iraq, Japan, Uganda, and USSR. The UAR, however, was adamant in insisting that it retain both the office of secretary general and the seat of the secretariat. The Communists, particularly the Chinese, were eager to diminish the influence of Nasr. After considerable discussion, a compromise was reached. Cairo was to be retained as headquarters and the UAR secretary general remained in office, but an executive committee of 27 members elected by the council and scheduled to meet semi-annually or whenever necessary was set up to direct the work of the secretariat, which had hitherto been virtually autonomous.

8. During the period that followed, the fate of the movement hung in the balance. The Soviet and Chinese national secretaries* returned home. No payments were forwarded to Cairo for the use of the permanent secretariat and, consequently,

* National secretaries are synonymous with national representatives on the permanent secretariat.

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work of the organization slowed down to a bare minimum.

9. In August a decision apparently was reached by the Communists to continue their support of the AAPSO. At this time the USSR's Abd-al-Ghaffar Rashidov returned to his post in Cairo and late in the same month the Soviet semi-annual contribution to the AAPSO of LE 5000, delinquent since May, was paid. A partial Chinese payment (LE 3000 of the LE 5000) due since May was received in Cairo on 10 September.

10. Beginning also at this period, new national secretaries started to report for duty in Cairo. Ibrahim Issa, a member of the PKI, came from Indonesia; Ahmed Zimmerlin, described by a well placed source as a Communist who always associates with Rashidov, Chu, and Issa, arrived to represent Algeria; and Antoine Awassi, a member of the Mouvement Nationale Congolais, Lumumba faction, filled the post assigned to the Congo. More recently Camara Bengaly of the Guinean Party Democratique, Paul Sekasi, a pro-Communist member of the Uganda National Congress, and M. Kallimulla, a member of the Indian Communist Party, filled the secretariat seats allotted to their countries.

11. In early October invitations were sent out for a meeting of the new executive committee to be held in Beirut on 10 November 1960.

B. Beirut Executive Committee Meeting

12. This meeting convened in Unesco Hall, Beirut, with delegates from 20 of the 27 designated countries present. From the start the Soviet and Chinese delegations were active and set the tone for the sessions and for the final directives and resolutions.

13. Important organizational and procedural changes were made which furthered the trend started at Conakry to

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enhance the position of the Communist group at the expense of the UAR. These changes included the transfer of certain functions from the secretariat and, within the secretariat, the strengthening of the position of the Communist and pro-Communist national secretaries relative to that of the secretary general. Two special committees were set up to handle the finances of the AAPSO.

14. A fund committee, to be composed of representatives from China, Guinea, Indonesia, Cameroons, Morocco, UAR, and USSR was authorized to ascertain the material needs of affiliated organizations in their struggle against imperialism and to find the means "to satisfy these needs and sustain the fund." This committee was directed to elect its own president and two vice presidents and to meet regularly, at least three times a year. All decisions of the committee were to be by majority vote, four members constituting a quorum. Requests and offers with regard to the fund were to be made either through the permanent secretariat or directly to the committee. The fund committee was made responsible to the executive committee, to whom it was directed to submit an activity report at each meeting of the executive committee; however, the fund committee between meetings of the executive committee is virtually autonomous. The first meeting of the fund committee was scheduled to be held in Conakry under the patronage of the Democratic Party of Guinea.

15. Further to remove financial authority from the permanent secretariat, a control commission subordinate to the executive committee was formed to examine the accounts of the permanent secretariat on the eve of each meeting of the executive committee, to which it will submit a report on the financial situation of the organization. Representatives of the following countries were chosen to serve on the control commission: Kenya, Morocco, North Vietnam.

16. In order, apparently, to emphasize executive committee control over the permanent secretariat a document entitled

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Internal Regulations of the Permanent Secretariat was drawn up which described the secretariat as an "international body entitled to implement the decisions and resolutions adopted by the executive committee to whom the secretariat is collectively responsible." The regulations then listed the specific functions delegated to the secretariat by the executive committee. The emphasis on "collective responsibility" further weakened the authority of the secretary general.

17. In addition to these organizational decisions the executive committee, despite some reported opposition, passed 35 resolutions, all violently anti-imperialist, anti-American, and anti-neo-colonialist. Heavy stress was laid on the theme of imperialist economic penetration and the importance of imperialists "of colonized and semi-colonized countries... since imperialism depends upon them for raw materials for the sale of its industrial products and for the investment of its capital."

18. The resolutions for specific countries recommended increased political pressure by the people on their governments to liberate themselves from U.S. imperialism, e.g., "The executive committee strongly supports the struggle of the Japanese people to destroy the U.S.-Japan military pact, to liberate itself from USA imperialism to liquidate the U.S. military bases and to liberate Okinawa and restore it to Japanese sovereignty."

19. Furthermore, national political opposition was supported even where a government had moved far toward neutrality. This is shown in the following statements: "The executive committee salutes the National Union of Popular Forces in Morocco for expressing its denunciation for the agreement signed on 1 September 1960 between the government of Morocco and the president of the French government in connection with military bases in the form of military schools.... The committee supports the Moroccan people in their struggle for complete independence in order to eradicate the remnants of the imperialist and feudal system in Morocco."

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20. The regulations also outlined in detail the functions of the secretary general and the national secretaries, bringing out the equal importance of the national secretaries and the secretary general. They underlined repeatedly the collective responsibility of the secretariat. For example Article III, Section 2, of the regulations state that "the responsibility of the permanent secretariat is collective in all its activities." Article III, Section 6, says that "all statements and documents to be published should be issued by the secretary general in the name of the secretariat after the agreement of the board of secretaries."

21. The freedom of action of individual national secretaries is assured in Article III, Section 8, which states: "Any member of the board of secretaries, if necessary, i.e., interviews, meetings, etc., may express his opinion in his capacity as a member of the secretariat and in conformity with the aims and objectives of the organization."

22. Finally, the regulations require a board of treasury to prepare the secretariat budget for submission to the executive committee. The members of the board consist of "the secretary general and two secretaries acting collectively," thus enhancing the chances for budget control by the pro-Communist element rather than by the Egyptian secretary general."

23. Although there were reports of ideological differences between the Soviet delegation, which allegedly wanted the theme of the conference to be "peaceful coexistence and ending the cold war" and the Chinese, who preferred "liquidation of imperialism,"

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a Sino-Soviet compromise was apparently reached and both slogans were incorporated, side by side, into the final resolutions.

24. There was, in fact, no inherent contradiction between the two views. For example, Resolution 7 emphasizes the Chinese line: "The executive committee reaffirms its belief that the struggle of peoples against colonialism and its remnants is one of the main elements in establishing the principles of independence and permanent peace." Resolution 8, following the general Khrushchev line, says "the committee calls upon all independent countries of the world to cooperate among themselves in the spirit of the five principles of peaceful coexistence which means that different political, social, and economic systems can peacefully coexist. It means at the same time that they will direct their efforts towards putting an end to the cold war." The obvious difference in emphasis--a serious problem in the World Peace Council--poses no problem for the basically anti-imperialist AAPSO.

25. The Beirut conference ended on a note of unanimity, with the delegates determined to push forward more vigorously the struggles against the imperialists. New members were taken in, notably the Malta Labour Party and the Committee of African Organizations in London, both of which groups are heavily Communist infiltrated. Increased efforts were asked of both the permanent secretariat and the national committees, and, finally, a decision was made to hold the next AAPSO council and executive committee meeting in Bandung in April 1961.

26. The period between the Beirut and Bandung meetings was an active one. AAPSO headquarters released propaganda in quantity. These included the monthly Afro-Asian Bulletin, which reappeared after a lapse of about six months and a succession of inflammatory mimeographed statements denouncing neo-colonialism, imperialism, and stooges of the west. All these were published in three languages, Arabic, English, and French. Initially of low

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calibre, the propaganda output has improved in quality in recent months. Solidarity days were declared (e.g., Congo day, Goa day, and Laos day); the Fortnight Against Military Pacts and Bases was held from 25 November to 10 December; and Quit Africa Day was celebrated on 1 December.

27. Three Afro-Asian Conferences were held in January, namely the Afro-Asian Writers' Bureau meeting in Colombo, the Afro-Asian Women's Conference in Cairo, and the emergency session of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Council also in Cairo. These meetings, although ostensibly called for specific and different purposes, actually were replicas of each other and of the earlier Beirut executive committee sessions in the subjects discussed, in their general tone, and in the proof they provide of increased Communist influence in the Afro-Asian movement. They all stressed their support for radical national liberation movements and were violently anti-west, anti-imperialist, and anti-neocolonialist.

C. Afro-Asian Writers Bureau

28. The Afro-Asian Writers Bureau met in Colombo on 3 January 1961. The meeting was, from the first, according to a reliable observer, dominated by the Communists and resulted in the following.

a. Organizational directives, e.g., the setting up of the permanent bureau of Afro-Asian Writers in Ceylon, the decision to publish a monthly bulletin, and the appointment of an international preparatory committee with representatives from Algeria, Guinea, Nigeria, Somalia, Angola, Kenya, North Korea, Iraq, Pakistan, and North Vietnam, to make arrangements for the 2nd Afro-Asian Writers Conference to be held in Cairo in late 1961.

b. A group of anti-colonialist resolutions on the Congo, Algeria, West Irian, Laos, and the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty.

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D. Afro-Asian Women's Conference

29. On 15 January the long delayed Afro-Asian Women's Conference convened in Cairo. Preparations for the meeting had been underway since February 1959, when Yusuf al-Sibai, secretary general of the AAPSO permanent secretariat, on the authority of the council called a UAR preparatory committee for the Afro-Asian Women's Conference. Miss Bahia Karam, then UAR member on the secretariat and head of the secretariat's Women and Child Section (sic), was appointed to head the preparatory committee. Inasmuch as the differences between the Communists and the UAR on the secretariat were reaching their peak at this time, it seems probable that Yusuf al-Sibai was attempting, through manipulation of arrangements for the women's conference, to enhance UAR organizational control of the secretariat. Instead, however, as later events proved, control of the women's conference was successfully taken over by the Communist group.

30. The UAR preparatory committee met in June 1959 and resolved the following.

a. An international preparatory committee should be convened only three weeks before the conference.

b. Only one delegate should be invited from each country and Miss Karam should be largely responsible for selecting the persons.

c. The agenda should be limited to problems of women and children and political matters should be excluded.

31. In July 1959 Miss Karam started on a tour of Afro-Asian countries to discuss the forthcoming women's conference. She was warmly received by the Communist groups, particularly in Japan and India, but was cold-shouldered by anti-Communist women's organizations in Indonesia and Ceylon.

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On her return she announced that the conference would be held in April 1960 and that an international preparatory committee representing 19 nations would convene in Cairo 1 March 1960.

32. When the international preparatory committee met, it was chaired by Mrs. R. C. Nehru, wife of the Indian ambassador in Cairo and daughter-in-law of the pro-Communist head of the All Indian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee. The Soviet, Chinese, and Cameroonian delegates dominated the conference discussions and the compromise formulas adopted by the meeting through Mrs. Nehru's actions opened the way in fact for a Communist take-over of the projected conference. The following changes were made in the original plans.

a. An item entitled the "Role of Women in the National Struggle for Freedom and the Maintenance of Peace" was added to the agenda, thus introducing the political element which the UAR had attempted to eliminate.

b. Each country was authorized to send as many delegates as it wished at its own expense. (The conference would pay full expenses for one.)

c. The conference was postponed until September 1960 to allow more time for completing arrangements.

d. Mrs. R. C. Nehru was named chairman of the preparatory committee.

33. When, after two more postponements, the women's conference finally took place, it was strictly a political affair. Original UAR plans to concentrate on the economic, social, and cultural problems of women had been thwarted; these subjects receiving sketchy treatment and no publicity. The final resolutions, which had been prepared by the international preparatory committee, were indistinguishable from the usual

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anti-imperialist, anti-neo-colonialist statements issued from international Communist meetings. The following excerpts are examples of objectives recommended by the conference as stated in the resolutions.

a. "The final eradication of imperialism, colonialism, and neo-colonialism as well as the puppet governments composed of fascist and dictatorial elements."

b. "To maintain world peace, immediate total and general disarmament and the liquidation of pacts and military bases, cessation of nuclear experiments, and the liquidation of arms and atomic bombs."

c. "Immediate cessation of foreign intervention in the Congo, the disarming of Mobutu's bands and the immediate release of Lumumba and his aids."

d. "Demand an ending to imperialist intervention in Laos."

E. Emergency AAPSO Council Meeting

34. On 21 January, in line with increasing pro-Lumumba activity by the bloc, an emergency meeting of the AAPSO council was called to discuss the situation in the Congo. This conference met in Cairo and was attended by representatives of 29 states, including sizeable delegations from the USSR and China. In addition to issuing a long resolution demanding that their governments give material as well as moral support to the Stanleyville Congolese government, the council established an international committee at AAPSO headquarters to "coordinate and centralize all material aid required to support the fighters in the Congo" and to maintain contact with the Congo government in Stanleyville. Although the Congo was the main subject of discussion at the emergency council meeting, other resolutions were passed supporting liberation movements in Algeria, Laos, Palestine,

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Yemen, Cuba, the Portuguese colonies, and Malta. At this meeting the council also attacked specific African governments; the four states of the Conseil de l'Entente (Ivory Coast, Niger, Dahomey, Upper Volta) were denounced as instruments of subversion and repression against the independent African nations. The council also condemned Ethiopia for the Somali border "massacres" and called upon her to accept a UN supervised referendum in the "disputed area." The violence of these attacks was a high point of AAPSO criticisms of Afro-Asian governments. It is significant to note that V. G. Korionov, long an official of the international section of the CPSU central committee and currently believed to be its deputy chief, attended the meeting and participated in the work of the Congo commission.

F. AAPSO Fund Committee

35. The first meeting of the AAPSO fund committee, set up in Beirut, was held on 21 February. The following officers were elected: Ismael Toure of Guinea, chairman; Mehdi Ben Barka of Morocco and Chu Tzu-Chi of China, vice-chairmen. The USSR was represented at the meeting by Boris Gafurov,* a member of the Central Committee of the CPSU and head of the Institute of Asian Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences.

G. Bandung Council Meeting

36. The April 1961 meeting of the council and executive committee showed again the degree of Communist control within the AAPSO. The arrangements for the sessions were in the

* Since fund committee members were supposed to be drawn from the executive committee, Gafurov's participation was in the strict sense irregular. But in any event, his designation is a clear indicator of the importance placed on this committee by the Soviets.

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hands of three officers of the Indonesian committee: Sirajudin Abbas, Bintang Suradi, and S. Munaf. Most of the work, however, was done by Suradi, who, in addition to his position on the Indonesian Afro-Asian committee, is also reportedly the head of the international department of the Indonesian Communist Party. The expenses, estimated in a budget prepared by the permanent secretariat at approximately LE 30,000, were to be taken care of by equal contributions from the UAR, Soviet Union, and China, supplemented by smaller sums from Guinea, Mongolia, North Korea, and North Vietnam. Chu Tzu-chi, the Chinese representative on the permanent secretariat, also offered to make up any deficit.

37. There were delegates from 43 countries and dependent territories and observers from the All African Peoples Conference, * the WPC Liaison Bureau for Asia and Pacific Regions, the World Peace Council itself, and the Instituto Cubano de Amistad a los Pueblos.

38. The proceedings and resolutions of the conference showed that the Communists were in fact dictating the policy of the organization. Whereas at Conakry concessions were made to the neutralists, e.g., deleting specific mention of western organizations such as SEATO, NATO, and CENTO, the Bandung meeting centered its attacks on neo-colonialism and singled out the United States and the above mentioned treaty organizations, as well as the UN, as principal targets. The following excerpts from specific resolutions illustrate the tone of the meeting.

a. Resolution on the Congo. "The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Council...condemns the crimes committed by Americans, Belgians, French, British and their allies of NATO against the Congo...under the cover of the United

* For further details on AAPSO-AAPC relations see part IV-4, 5, and 8.

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Nations... [the AAPSC] condemns the executive authorities of the UNO." This resolution epitomizes the intensification of pressure on the neutralists and the dilemma in which they find themselves as a result of their identification with this organization.

b. Resolution on Korea. The resolution on Korea also demands complete support for the militant, Chinese-endorsed Communist line on Korea. The AAPSC "fully supports the just struggle of the Korean people for achieving the unification of the country by making the U.S. imperialist aggressive troops withdraw from South Korea... In order to give an active support to the struggle of the people of north and south Korea... decides that the period from 25 June when the U.S. imperialists provoked the Korean war to 1 July will be the week of joint struggle for the withdrawal of the U.S. imperialist aggressive troops from South Korea."

39. Communist strength within the AAPSO was evident in council directives to national affiliates demanding the exertion of pressure at the governmental level. For example, the resolution on Angola recommends "that all Afro-Asian organizations exert pressure on the states of Africa and Asia that maintain relations with the Portuguese government to sever all relations with this colonialist country." Similarly, the resolution on British Afro-Asian dependent states says "the Afro-Asian member states of the British Commonwealth of Nations should demand Britain to grant immediate independence to the British Afro-Asian dependent states.... This failing, the Afro-Asian member states of the British Commonwealth should withdraw from the British Commonwealth."

40. The Communist reason for applying these pressures at this time cannot be determined, but it does coincide with pressures being exerted at the present time by the Communists on certain of the participating countries (e.g., UAR and Iraq).

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41. Organizationally the council approved the decision of the Beirut executive committee on the formation of the fund committee and hailed the results of the first fund appeal, which showed contributions of approximately \$100,000. The largest amount came from Communist China although sizeable contributions were made by the USSR, the UAR and Indonesia.

42. To solidify the partnership between the All African Peoples Conference and the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization the Soviet delegate suggested that the two organizations should work together smoothly and that to this end there should be regular changes of views between representatives of each group. The proposal was accepted by the meeting.

43. An expansion of the AAPSO to include participation by Latin Americans was suggested by the Ceylon delegate and was later approved by the council. A meeting of the permanent secretariat on 20 May discussed the recommendation of the council and decided to form a committee to make contact with organizations in Latin America as a preliminary step towards holding an Afro-Asian Latin American meeting.

44. Sino-Soviet differences at the conference were evident in the preliminary discussions. The Chinese, for example, wanted to include a resolution stating specifically that the UN served only the imperialists and that Hammarskjold should be branded as a traitor. The Soviet delegate, on the other hand, preferred a resolution calling for the reorganization of the UN. The Chinese line was followed by the delegates of Algeria, Zanzibar, Japan, Sudan (Ahmad Mohammed Kheir), and Guinea while the Soviets were supported by Pakistan, Indonesia, Iran, India and Niger. The final resolution, a compromise written by Fouad Galal, strongly criticized the UN but called for its reorganization rather than its liquidation.

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45. As was the case at the Afro-Asian Women's Conference and at the November meeting in Beirut, the Sino-Soviet differences at Bandung mainly involved questions of emphasis. The compromise formulas finally adopted, while stronger than the original Soviet language and weaker than that offered by the Chinese, incorporated the essential point of each. It cannot be excluded that in this Afro-Asian solidarity context the soft Soviet and hard Chinese original proposals were both consciously put forward for tactical purposes.

H. Executive Committee Meeting

46. Members of the executive committee met on 13 April immediately after the end of the council sessions. They approved the budget of the permanent secretariat. They also continued to whittle-away at remnants of UAR control by establishing a "Section for Women's Affairs" to take the place of the original women's group headed by Bahia Karam of the UAR. The new committee will be organized with members from the following countries: Algeria, Indonesia, UAR, Japan, North Vietnam, and Guinea.

47. The committee then urged the revival of a youth section which should "undertake contacts with all youth organizations in Africa and Asia through the national solidarity movements." Finally a decision was reached to hold the next executive committee meeting, scheduled for November 1961 in Gaza.

IV. National Committee Activities

48. In addition to activity on the international level AAPSO objectives are furthered locally by national committees affiliated with the AAPSO. These committees, within their own countries, function similarly to the AAPSO permanent secretariat, i.e., they hold conferences, issue solidarity statements, organize rallies, and are in fact lobbies for the promotion of AAPSO

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aims. They are also expected to send money to AAPSO headquarters, delegates to AAPSO meetings, and officials, when requested, to fill AAPSO offices.

A. Asia

49. The Soviet and Chinese committees are the strongest and most effective of these groups and also provide approximately two-thirds of the regular income of the AAPSO Secretariat. Within the free World the two most active committees during 1960-1961 were those of India and Japan. Both of these committees are Communist controlled and give strong support to AAPSO propaganda themes. Owing to the different conditions in India and Japan and to the differences between the two national committees, the Indian committee has, since its emergence in 1955, tended to stress the Soviet-advocated peaceful coexistence and disarmament line while the Japanese committee, which emerged only in 1957, appears to prefer the Chinese line of militant support for liberation struggles. Both the Indian and Japanese committees are now represented on the AAPSO permanent secretariat by members of the Communist parties.

50. The Indonesian committee, which was the host of the Bandung AAPSO council and executive committee meeting, though divided in membership between Communists and anti-Communists since its creation in 1957, is also influential within the movement and has recently been strengthened by the backing it has received from President Sukarno and by the general hardening of the anti-colonialist aspect of Indonesian foreign policy.

51. The Iraq committee was most active in AAPSO affairs before June 1959, when the Communists by a slim margin lost their control of the group. In July 1960 Communist influence was further reduced, and since that time Iraq has given little support to the AAPSO. Iraq, however, is represented on the AAPSO executive committee and since 1957 has had a

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position assigned to it (which it has never filled) on the permanent secretariat. The division within the Iraq committee has become most noticeable at AAPSO conferences, which are generally attended by both the anti-Communist Hasann Zakaria and the Communist Aziz Sharif. At recent meetings Zakaria has been accepted as the nominal delegation head, but Sharif has been much more active and, apparently, influential with the other participants.

B. Africa

52. In Africa, the national committees are smaller and less effective. In fact they are merely points of contact with AAPSO headquarters; but the work ordinarily expected of national committees is, in Africa, taken over by nationalist parties and freedom movements. These organizations, all anti-colonialist and most of them anti-west, support AAPSO measures and their members hold official positions in the AAPSO. For example, the Union des Populations Camerounaises, the Uganda National Congress, the Front de Liberation Nationale (Algeria), the Mouvement Nationale Congolais-Lumumba, and the Party Democratique Guineen are all represented on the permanent secretariat.*

C. Relations with AAPC

53. In addition to its association with these nationalist groups, the AAPSO is working closely with the All African Peoples Conference. In his report to the April 1961 Bandung Council meeting Yusuf al Sibai, AAPSO secretary general said: "Close cooperation has been established between our organization

* For Africans represented on the AAPSO executive committee see Appendix.

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and the brotherly organization of the All African Peoples Conference. Exchange of membership between our directing bodies has been agreed upon."

54. At the present time 6 persons are members of both the AAPSO executive committee and the AAPC steering committee.* Moreover at the time of their deaths, John Kale of Uganda and Patrice Lumumba of the Congo also held dual offices. AAPSO observers also attend all AAPC meetings and the expenses of Abdoulaye Diallo, secretary general of the AAPC, who was an observer at the AAPSO council meeting, were paid by the AAPSO.

V. Summary

55. This review of the activities and developments of the Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organization from April 1960 to April 1961 shows that the AAPSO is now controlled by the Communists and their supporters and has become a strong anti-Western force in Africa and Asia. It is able to supply a rostrum for the spread of propaganda, to effect personal contact between Communists and uncommitted Afro-Asians, and to provide opportunities for the Communist bloc, under neutralist cover, to influence the policies of non-committed governments in Africa and Asia. The AAPSO also plans to extend its activities to Latin America and it is likely that in the near future AAPSO activities will affect the uncommitted countries in both hemispheres.

* For names see Appendix.

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Appendix

I. AAPSO Executive Committee

	<u>Elected at</u> <u>Conakry Meeting</u>	<u>Attended</u> <u>Beirut Meeting</u>	<u>Attended</u> <u>Bandung Meeting*</u>
Algeria	Omar Fanon	Harbi Mohamed	Ali Lakhdari
Cameroons	Ernest Ouandie		Ernest Ouandie
China	Chu Tzu-chi	Chu Tzu-chi	Liu Ning-yi
Congo	Patrice Lumumba		Jean Manpunga
Ghana	Nathaniel Welbeck		
Guinea	Ismael Toure	Camara Bengaly	Camara Bengaly
India	Rameshwari Nehru	Gyan Chand	Gyan Chand
Indonesia		Sunito	Sirajuddin Abbas
Iran	Dr. A. Etebar	Dr. A. Etebar	Mr. Hoveyda
Iraq	Aziz Sharif	Hasan Zakaria	Hasan Zakaria
Japan	Kashiro Okakura	Shigeo Sato	Shizuma Kai
Kenya	Oginga Odinga	H. S. Gathigira	Oyangi Mbaya
Lebanon	Hashem el Houseini	Kamal Jumblatt	Abas Michel Khalaf
Liberia	T. O. Dosumo Johnson	T. O. Dosumo Johnson	
Mongolia	Peurexjal Coumbadre		Dondogyn Tsevegnid
Morocco	Mehdi Ben Barka	Mehdi Ben Barka	Mehdi Ben Barka
N. Korea	Han Sul Ya		Li Tsan
N. Vietnam	Xuan Thux	Pham Hong	Hoang Quoc Viet
Pakistan	Miraj Khaled		Miraj Khaled
Somalia	Mohammed Harbi	Abdulaziz Narherssi	Ali Abdullahi Ibrahim
S. Rhodesia	Joshua Nkomo	T. Malan Silundika	T. Malan Silundika
Southwest Africa	J. Kozonguizi		J. Kozonguizi
Tunisia	Ahmed Tlili	Chaker Abdel Majid	Mahmoud Marmouri
UAR	Fouad Galal	Fouad Galal	Fouad Galal
USSR	Mirzo Tursun-Zade	Mirzo Tursun-Zade	Mirzo Tursun-Zade
Uganda	Joseph Kiwanuka	Joseph Kiwanuka	Joseph Kiwanuka
Yemen	Ahmed Mohamed	Ibrahim Ali Wazir	Ahmed Mohamed

* There is no official list of persons who attended the Bandung executive committee meeting. The persons listed above are the heads of delegations to the Bandung council meeting and probably also represented their countries at the committee meeting.

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II. Permanent Secretariat of the AAPSO

1. Secretary general

UAR: Yusuf al-Sibai

2. National secretaries

Algeria: Ahmed Zimmerlin aka Minwar Hasan Abdullah

Communist China: Chu Tzu-chi

Japan: Masao Kitazawa

Cameroon: Osende Afana

Congo: Antoine Awassi

Uganda: Paul Sekasi

USSR: Abd al Ghaffar Rashidov

Indonesia: Ibrahim Issa

Guinea: Camara Benghly

India: (Fnu) Kalimulla

(unfilled place designated to Iraq)

AAPSO-AAPC

III. Dual office holders

The following persons who have represented their countries at one or more meetings of the AAPSO executive committee are also members of the steering committee of the All African Peoples Conference.

Ismael Toure (Guinea)

T. O. Dosumo Johnson (Liberia)

Ali Abdullahi Ibrahim (Somalia)

Chaker Abdel Majid (Tunisia)

Joshua Nkomo (Southern Rhodesia)

Fouad Galal (UAR)

Abdoulaye Diallo, secretary general of the All African Peoples Conference regularly attends Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity conferences as an observer.

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